1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers 422 usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the 428 property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion 176 arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes among them.

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *trvâkhtnûdr meilkûdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Thus, if sixteen buffaloes are to be divided among four brothers, the eldest and youngest would each take four, the second and third brothers would each take three, and the remaining two buffaloes would either be sold and the purchase money equally divided, or taken by one of the brothers, who would divide three-quarters of the value of the buffaloes between the other three men. If there should be only fourteen buffaloes, the eldest and youngest sons would each take four buffaloes and the others three.

The *meilkudr* is also operative if a man divides his buffaloes among his sons in his lifetime. In this case a man usually keeps some buffaloes for himself; thus I was told that a man who had sixteen buffaloes and three sons might give four buffaloes to the eldest, three to the next, and four to the youngest son, keeping five for himself.

The Todas told me of one apparent exception to the law of *meilkudr*. If, in a family of four brothers, the two elder brothers marry one wife and the two younger marry another and the two groups separate, the buffaloes would be equally divided, but this is because each would receive a *meilkudr*. If, on the other hand, the eldest and youngest son married one wife, and the other two sons married another woman, the first group would receive two buffaloes in excess of the second. The former example is, of course, an obvious consequence of the law of *meilkudr*. I only mention it because the Todas told me of it especially, and seemed to regard it as a case which might be thought to be a departure from custom.

I gave the Todas a number of hypothetical problems of buffalo division, and all were solved in accordance with the law of *meilkudr*. I have not been able to learn of any exact parallel in other parts of the world, and it seems possible that it is an independent invention of the Todas. The division is called *kudr*, or horn, and it seems to me quite possible that at some time it occurred to an ingenious Toda that the two extremities of the family should be regarded as the two horns of the family, and that this fact should be recognised in the division of property, or, it may be, that the custom of endowing the eldest of the family above his fellows

existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *tererstthi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes.

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons.

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljeidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men.

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded
by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351
two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to
permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343
is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others,
and usually contains two compartments separated by a
centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house
for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels.
The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342]
dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193]
than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of
the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354]
place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that
it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at
some little distance from the habitations. The huts
where the calves are kept are simple buildings, some-
what like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417
mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233
enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a
single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these,
the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422]
possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487
Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a
village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the
village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol
receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562]
women. Within the village there are also certain recog-
nised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234]
the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man
goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the
other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women
must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk
(maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562]
go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except
at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *purshtpimi* in the first instance.

The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

511 621 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following members of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 [23] The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 428 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at [562] [583] the time of their wedding.

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To 302 524 have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 582 422 Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 583 592 The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

To 595 ● 422 592

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second brother had also left, when he ran away in a huff, with one-third plus two of the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 WTi 595 [592]

The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans

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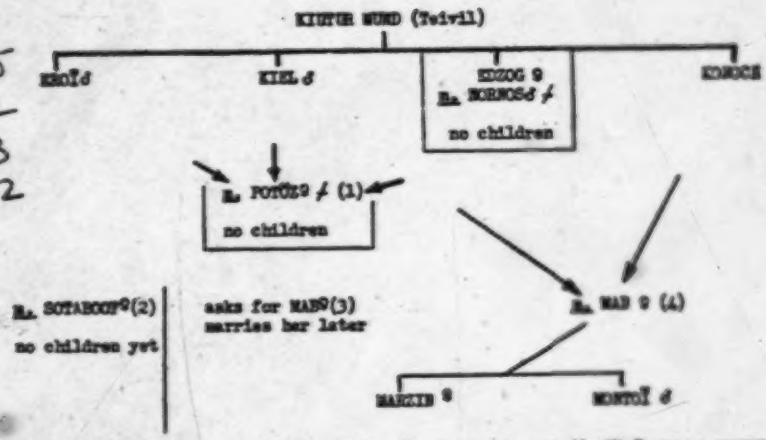

Figure 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Kanan when two years old. (2) Becomes a grown-up girl, takes one-third of the buffalo plus two away. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo her owner back and marries Mab after his brother, Kanuk, has already married her. (4) Kanuck originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel pays in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

-- p. 220c (Figure 2) --